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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS,
M.H., CECILIA DANIELA GONZÁLEZ
HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA PURICA
HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and HENDRINA
VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**EXPERT DECLARATION OF ELLIOTT
YOUNG IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFF'
MOTION TO POSTPONE EFFECTIVE
DATE OF AGENCY ACTION**

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EXPERT DECLARATION OF ELLIOTT YOUNG

1
2 1. I, Elliott Young, am a Professor of History at Lewis & Clark College. If called to
3 testify, I could and would do so as follows:

4 2. I have been asked to provide an expert opinion on three topics: the demographic
5 makeup of Venezuelan Temporary Protected Status (TPS) holders, current political and economic
6 conditions in Venezuela, and how the debate over Venezuelan TPS reflects the history of racism in
7 immigration policy debates in the United States. I make this declaration based on my personal and
8 professional knowledge, my skill, experience, training, and education, and facts and data regularly
9 relied upon in my field that are currently available to me. If additional information becomes
10 available, or if I believe it would be appropriate to respond to any critique or contrary theories, I will
11 advise Plaintiffs' counsel that I intend to do so and will seek their help in following the appropriate
12 judicial procedures. The opinions in this declaration are my own. A true and correct copy of my CV
13 is attached as Appendix A.

14 3. It is my considered opinion that the political and economic crisis that Venezuela has
15 been experiencing for the last decade continues to this day. Moreover, the statements of various
16 people in the Trump administration (including President Trump and DHS Secretary Noem)
17 characterizing Venezuelan TPS holders as dangerous criminals who harm the U.S. economy is a
18 false narrative, and one reflecting racist tropes that have long been wielded against immigrants to
19 the United States.

20 **I. Expertise**

21 4. I am qualified to provide my opinion given my background and experience on the
22 political and social history of Venezuela and on the history of U.S. immigration. I am a Professor of
23 History at Lewis & Clark College, where I have taught Latin American and immigration history for
24 more than 26 years, and was director of Latin American Studies for more than a decade. I have also
25 served as director of Ethnic Studies for more than a decade and am an affiliated faculty member of
26 the Gender Studies program. I am co-director of the Stanford Migration & Asylum Lab (MAL) and
27 have co-authored their Venezuela Country Conditions Bulletin.
28

1 5. I regularly teach classes that discuss the human rights and political conditions in
2 Venezuela, and I teach a class on Immigration and Asylum Law and a Public History Lab course
3 that focuses on country conditions in Venezuela. In 2004, I visited Venezuela as part of an
4 international delegation to witness the campaign for the referendum on President Hugo Chavez's
5 rule. Following the delegation, I published a column in the History News Network about the
6 referendum in Venezuela. I have provided expert witness testimony in over 70 Venezuela cases,
7 thirty in which I provided testimony. I have conducted extensive field research and scholarly
8 studies about cross-border smuggling, paramilitary groups on the border, and clandestine trafficking
9 of migrants.

10 6. My articles have appeared in leading scholarly journals like the *American Historical*
11 *Review*, *Past & Present*, the *Pacific Historical Review*, *Western Historical Quarterly*, *Mexican*
12 *Studies*, *Cuban Studies*, and the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. I have published four books:
13 *Alien Nation: Chinese Migrations in the Americas from the Coolie Era to WWII* (UNC Press,
14 2014), *Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas Mexico Border* (Duke University Press 2004), a
15 co-edited volume on borderlands history entitled *Continental Crossroads: Remapping the US-*
16 *Mexico Borderlands History* (Duke University Press 2004), and *Forever Prisoners: How the United*
17 *States Made the Largest Immigrant Detention System in the World* (Oxford University Press, 2021).
18 I have also published book chapters in volumes published by Oxford University Press, University
19 of Illinois Press, University of Texas Press, and Routledge.

20 7. I earned a BA in History and Latin American Studies from Princeton University '89,
21 and an MA and Ph.D. in Latin American History from the University of Texas at Austin '97.

22 8. I was awarded the Fulbright and Fulbright Hays fellowships in Mexico, Woodrow
23 Wilson and Mellon fellowships, and a Franklin Fellowship awarded by the American Philosophical
24 Society. I have lectured at universities and other public fora in the United States and Mexico about
25 clandestine migratory networks between the U.S. and Mexico.

26 9. I also founded the Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas in
27 2004. This Institute brings together North and Latin American scholars every July to discuss issues
28 such as migration, violence and transnational criminal networks.

II. The Demographic Profile of Venezuelans with Temporary Protected Status (TPS)

10. Venezuelan migration to the United States has increased dramatically in the last decade. Broadly speaking, people of Venezuelan descent are more active in the U.S. labor force and have higher levels of education compared to other immigrants. But there has been a demographic shift in the last 25 years between the older arrivals, who are wealthier and whiter, and more recent migrants who are poorer and darker-skinned. As of the end of 2023, there were more than 900,000 Venezuelans living in the United States.¹ They constitute only a small portion of the 7.9 million Venezuelans who have fled the country in recent years. Most of them are living in neighboring Latin American countries such as Colombia and Peru.² Most Venezuelans in the United States have arrived since 2010, almost half of them residing in Florida. The median age for Venezuelans in the United States was 39 in 2023, which was almost ten years younger than the median age for other foreign-born people. Venezuelans have higher education levels than immigrants in general, higher than even U.S.-born people. For example, 48 percent of Venezuelan immigrants 25 or older had a bachelor's degree or higher, while only 35 percent of all immigrant adults and 36 percent of U.S.-born adults had attained a similar degree. Three-quarters of Venezuelan immigrants 16 or older were in the civilian labor force in 2023, compared to 67 percent for foreign-born in general and 63 percent for U.S.-born individuals.³ Although large-scale Venezuelan migration is a recent phenomenon, given their education and high labor force participation it is likely that many of these immigrants will become professionals or skilled workers and contribute to the U.S. economy.

¹ United States Census Bureau, "American Community Survey," 2023, <https://data.census.gov/table/ACSSPP1Y2023.S0201?q=Venezuelan>. Ana Alanis Amaya and Jeanne Batalova, "Venezuelan Immigrants in the United States," Feb. 6, 2025, Migration Policy Institute, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/venezuelan-immigrants-united-states-2025>.

² "Venezuelan Refugees and Migrants," R4V Inter-Agency Coordination Platform for Refugees and Migrants from Venezuela, Nov. 2024, <https://www.r4v.info/en/document/r4v-latin-america-and-caribbean-venezuelan-refugees-and-migrants-region-nov-2024-0>.

³ Ana Alanis Amaya and Jeanne Batalova, "Venezuelan Immigrants in the United States," Feb. 6, 2025, Migration Policy Institute, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/venezuelan-immigrants-united-states-2025>.

11. An estimated 607,000 Venezuelans living in the United States are covered by TPS, 348,000 of whom were registered under the 2023 designation.⁴ Given that TPS eligibility requirements bar individuals with any felony conviction or more than one misdemeanor, this group of Venezuelan immigrants is, by definition, not comprised of dangerous criminals. Furthermore, TPS eligibility requirements bar anyone who is also barred from obtaining asylum and anyone inadmissible under INA section 212(a), including “non-waivable criminal and security-related grounds.”⁵

12. Between them, the general demographic profile of highly educated, young working immigrants and the eligibility rules for TPS suggest a portrait of Venezuelan TPS holders very different than the one painted by the Trump administration of gang members and dangerous criminals. The language being used by President Trump, Department of Homeland Security Secretary Kristi Noem, and other Trump administration officials to describe Venezuelan TPS holders echoes historical stereotypes about immigrants as mentally ill and dangerous criminals.

III. Political and Economic Conditions in Venezuela

a. Political Repression in Venezuela

13. There is a long history of political repression in Venezuela throughout the Hugo Chávez and Nicolás Maduro regimes. The situation has only worsened in recent years. The latest U.S. State Department’s 2023 Human Rights Report on Venezuela, published in March 2024, states, “There were no significant changes in the human rights situation in Venezuela during the year.”⁶ The previous year’s 2022 State Department report, published in 2023, documented “Significant human rights issues include[ing] credible reports of: unlawful or arbitrary killings, including extrajudicial killings by regime forces; forced disappearances by the regime; torture or

⁴ U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, “Termination of the October 3, 2023 Designation of Venezuela Temporary Protected Status,” Federal Register, Feb. 5, 2025, <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/02/05/2025-02294/termination-of-the-october-3-2023-designation-of-venezuela-for-temporary-protected-status>.

⁵ U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, “Temporary Protected Status- Eligibility Requirements,” accessed Feb 15, 2025, <https://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/temporary-protected-status>.

⁶ U.S. State Department, “Venezuela 2023 Human Rights Report,” March 2024, https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/528267_VENEZUELA-2023-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf, p.1.

1 cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment by security forces; harsh and life-threatening
 2 prison conditions; arbitrary arrest or detention by security forces; political prisoners or detainees;
 3 serious problems with the independence of the judiciary.”⁷

4 14. After the death of Hugo Chávez in March 2013, his hand-picked successor, Nicolás
 5 Maduro, narrowly prevailed in snap elections that revealed deep political divisions in Venezuelan
 6 society.⁸ Maduro, who served under Chávez for twenty years and calls himself the “Son of
 7 Chávez,” has actively framed his presidency as a continuation of the Chávez regime and its socialist
 8 platform.⁹ Maduro’s government has amplified Chávez’s practice of repressing political opponents.
 9 Beginning with the 2013 election, Maduro threatened that a vote against him would be akin to
 10 treason.¹⁰ Since then, he has continued to retaliate against any perceived critics of the government,
 11 including by investigating and jailing them.¹¹

12 15. Elections in Venezuela have been so deeply tainted by Maduro’s control that
 13 opposition parties cannot reasonably claim to have any legislative power. For example, in May
 14 2018, Maduro was re-elected in a highly controversial and unfair election boycotted by most
 15 opposition political parties and not recognized by the National Assembly. During the elections,
 16 many opposition candidates were barred from running while others were jailed or fled the country
 17 for fear of imprisonment. Similarly, the July 28, 2024 election was marked by apparent widespread
 18 fraud. Although the election authorities claimed Maduro won 51 percent of the vote to the
 19 opposition candidate’s 44 percent, the government has not released vote tallies. The opposition
 20 collected receipts from 81 percent of polling machines, showing that Maduro’s opponent, Edmundo

21 ⁷ U.S. State Department, “Venezuela 2022 Human Rights Report,” March 2023,
 22 [https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/528267_VENEZUELA-2023-HUMAN-](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/528267_VENEZUELA-2023-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf)
 23 [RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/528267_VENEZUELA-2023-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf), p.2.

24 ⁸ Juan Ferero, “Nicolas Maduro narrowly wins presidential election in Venezuela,” *The Washington*
 25 *Post*, April 15, 2013, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/hugo-chavez-heir-nicolas-maduro-](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/hugo-chavez-heir-nicolas-maduro-leads-in-polls-ahead-of-vote/2013/04/14/334cd2ba-a54b-11e2-9e1c-bb0fb0c2edd9_story.html)
 26 [leads-in-polls-ahead-of-vote/2013/04/14/334cd2ba-a54b-11e2-9e1c-bb0fb0c2edd9_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/hugo-chavez-heir-nicolas-maduro-leads-in-polls-ahead-of-vote/2013/04/14/334cd2ba-a54b-11e2-9e1c-bb0fb0c2edd9_story.html).

27 ⁹ Jim Wyss, “Chavismo after Chávez: Two years after president’s death, party loyalties are strained,”
 28 *Miami Herald*, March 8, 2015, [https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-](https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/americas/venezuela/article13012655.html)
[world/world/americas/venezuela/article13012655.html](https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/americas/venezuela/article13012655.html).

¹⁰ Juan Ferero, “Nicolas Maduro narrowly wins presidential election in Venezuela,” *The Washington*
Post, April 15, 2013, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/hugo-chavez-heir-nicolas-maduro-](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/hugo-chavez-heir-nicolas-maduro-leads-in-polls-ahead-of-vote/2013/04/14/334cd2ba-a54b-11e2-9e1c-bb0fb0c2edd9_story.html)
[leads-in-polls-ahead-of-vote/2013/04/14/334cd2ba-a54b-11e2-9e1c-bb0fb0c2edd9_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/hugo-chavez-heir-nicolas-maduro-leads-in-polls-ahead-of-vote/2013/04/14/334cd2ba-a54b-11e2-9e1c-bb0fb0c2edd9_story.html).

¹¹ Jim Wyss, “Chavismo after Chávez: Two years after president’s death, party loyalties are strained,” *Miami Herald*, March 8, 2015, [https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-](https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/americas/venezuela/article13012655.html)
[world/world/americas/venezuela/article13012655.html](https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/americas/venezuela/article13012655.html).

González, had won 67 percent of the vote. Exit polling on election day also revealed a landslide for the opposition, raising doubts about the electoral authorities' announcement. In the wake of such fraud, former U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken recognized González as the legitimate winner of the election. In the days following the election, more than 750 people were arrested and 17 people died as a result of clashes between state security forces and protestors.¹² Gonzalez fled Venezuela in the face of imminent arrest and has been seeking legitimacy from Europe and the United States as the new President of Venezuela.

b. Venezuela's Economic and Social Crisis

16. The economy of Venezuela is in crisis and has been for quite some time. One-third of Venezuelans (8 million out of 29 million) have left the country in recent years because of political instability, violence, and economic collapse. Historically, the oil-rich nation was among the wealthiest in Latin America, even as wealth was distributed unevenly, but since 2010, the country has been in an economic freefall with hyperinflation, increasing poverty rates, and declining oil production. Venezuela's daily oil production dropped more than one-third, from 3 million barrels of oil per day in 1998 to less than 900,000 barrels a day in January 2025.¹³ The average salary for a public school teacher or nurse is \$3 a month, while a private sector employee earns \$160 monthly. Meanwhile, the cost to feed a family of four is \$372 monthly. U.S. economic sanctions, including a ban on oil imports from Venezuela, have contributed to the collapse of the economy.¹⁴

17. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew significantly during the first decade of the Chavez regime, up to 2012, largely buoyed by high oil prices. GDP rose to \$373 billion in 2012, but since that time GDP has plummeted, reaching a low of \$44 billion in 2020, and rebounding to \$106

¹²Anatoly Kumanaev and Ethan Singer, "Election Results Presented by Venezuela's Opposition Suggest Maduro Lost Decisively," *New York Times*, July 31, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/world/americas/venezuela-maduro-election-results.html>. Julie Turkewitz, "US Recognizes Maduro's Rival as Winner of Venezuela Election," *New York Times*, Aug. 1, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/01/world/americas/venezuela-election-gonzalez-maduro.html>.

¹³ Marianna Parraga, "How Venezuela Pulled Its Oil Production Out of a Tailspin," *Reuters*, Dec 27, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/markets/commodities/how-venezuela-pulled-its-oil-production-out-tailspin-2021-12-27/>. "Venezuela Crude Oil: Production," CEIC, accessed Feb 15, 2025, <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/venezuela/crude-oil-production>.

¹⁴ Julie Turkewitz and Isayen Herrera, "Why Are So Many Venezuelans Going to the United States," *New York Times*, Sept. 24, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/24/world/americas/why-are-so-many-venezuelans-going-to-the-united-states.html>.

1 billion in 2024. In spite of this rebound, Venezuela's GDP is still about a fourth of what it was in
 2 2012, representing a major contraction of the economy.¹⁵ Hyperinflation spiked to over 63,000% in
 3 2018, and while it has dropped, it was 60% in 2024.¹⁶

4 18. The consequences of the mismanaged economy and the U.S. economic sanctions
 5 have been dramatic. In February 2024, the UN Special Rapporteur indicated that over 80 percent of
 6 Venezuelans live in poverty and over 50 percent in extreme poverty.¹⁷ Venezuela's macroeconomic
 7 situation is dire by any measure, but if you combine that with the highly skewed distribution of
 8 income and wealth, you begin to understand why a third of the country fled in recent years. In
 9 Caracas, you can find stores selling Prada purses, Ferraris, and a \$110,000 television, alongside
 10 people earning \$10 a month and going hungry.

11 19. Although many Venezuelans have fled their country due to political violence and the
 12 restrictions on their freedom to express political views, others have also fled because of the
 13 economic and social collapse in Venezuela. While the first group may be eligible to apply for
 14 asylum in the United States, members of the latter group, which includes many with TPS, are
 15 unlikely to establish eligibility for asylum.

16 **IV. Racism in U.S. Immigration History**

17 20. The statements made about Venezuelan TPS holders by President Trump, DHS
 18 Secretary Noem, and other Trump administration officials can be understood in the context of a long
 19 history of using similar statements about disfavored immigrant groups to justify restrictive
 20 immigration laws. The idea of stigmatizing immigrants as dangerous criminals and national security
 21 threats has a long history in the United States stretching back to the early days of the Republic.¹⁸
 22 Immigration restrictions and the rhetoric surrounding them have reflected racism throughout United
 23 States history, as those opposing immigrant populations understood as non-white have described

24 ¹⁵ "Venezuela- Gross Domestic Product (GDP) 2025," Statista, accessed Feb 15, 2025,
 25 <https://www.statista.com/statistics/370937/gross-domestic-product-gdp-in-venezuela/>.

¹⁶ "Venezuela: Inflation rate from 1985 to 2025," Statista, accessed Feb 15, 2025,
 26 <https://www.statista.com/statistics/371895/inflation-rate-in-venezuela/>.

¹⁷ Thomson Reuters, "Venezuela's Election: More Maduro or a New Democratic Era?" *CBC News*,
 27 July 25, 2024, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/venezuela-election-preview-1.7274864>.

¹⁸ Elliott Young, *Forever Prisoners: How the United States Made the Largest Immigrant Detention System in the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).

1 them as animal, criminal, mentally or physically ill, likely to “poison the blood” of the country or
 2 otherwise dilute its gene pool. President Trump and others involved in his campaign have used all of
 3 these tropes as part of their attack on immigrants in general and Venezuelans in particular.

4 21. These tropes have been used from the nation’s outset. Naturalization laws starting in
 5 1790, for example, restricted citizenship to “free white” people, while other immigration laws
 6 prevented the entry of Black and Chinese people.¹⁹ In the wake of the Haitian Revolution in 1791, a
 7 group of white North Carolinians petitioned Congress to ban the entry of Black people from the
 8 Caribbean, which they asserted were “a species of population too obnoxious to be tolerated.”
 9 In the decades preceding the Civil War, the staunchly pro-slavery J. D. B. DeBow, a New Orleans
 10 journalist, argued against the importation of Chinese contract laborers, known as “coolies,” labeling
 11 them “half savages and half-civilized idolators.”²⁰ Congress acceded to these demands by passing
 12 the 1862 Anti-Coolie Act, barring entry of Chinese contract laborers.²¹ And then, in 1882, Congress
 13 prohibited the entry of all Chinese laborers in the Chinese Exclusion Act. Senator John F. Miller, a
 14 California Republican introduced the bill to exclude Chinese immigrants, comparing them to an
 15 invading army and calling the Chinese a “degraded and inferior race.”²² The demonization of
 16 Chinese immigrants would continue in the decades that followed. Furthermore, racist tropes about
 17 the Chinese eating cats, dogs, and rats were used to dehumanize them and garner support for anti-
 18 Chinese legislation. In his 1888 presidential campaign, Grover Cleveland distributed trading cards
 19 depicting cartoonish images of Chinese eating rats, eerily echoing Donald Trump’s false claims
 20 about Haitians eating cats and dogs in Ohio.²³

21 ¹⁹ A Bill to Establish a Uniform Rule of Naturalization, and Enable Aliens to Hold Lands under
 22 Certain Conditions; 3/4/1790; (SEN1A-C1); Bills and Resolutions Originating in the House and
 23 Considered in the Senate, 1789 - 2002; Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46; National
 Archives Building, Washington, DC. [Online Version,
<https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/naturalization-act-of-1790>, February 15, 2025].

24 ²⁰ Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane : Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation*
 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), p. 30.

25 ²¹ Elliott Young, *Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas from the Coolie Era to WWII*
 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 102.

26 ²² Erika Lee, *America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States* (New York: Basic
 Books, 2019), 90-92.

27 ²³ Claire Wang, “‘A Very Old Political Trope’: The Racist US History Behind Trump’s Haitian Pet
 28 Eater Claim,” *Guardian*, Sept. 14, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2024/sep/14/racist-history-trump-pet-eating-immigrant>.

22. Immigration restrictionists continued to employ racist ideology to justify their positions in the 1920's. The 1924 Johnson Reed Act established immigration quotas based on national origins. The government chose the 1890 Census as a baseline to reduce the number of Eastern and Southern Europeans and Jews allowed into the country. One of the Bill's sponsors, Senator David Reed (R-Pennsylvania), exclaimed, "We have closed the doors just in time to prevent our Nordic population being overrun by lower races." Reed also wanted to keep out Black people migrating from the West Indies.²⁴ Eugenicist Harry Laughlin served as an expert advisor to the House Committee on Immigration during the process. The Act also continued to exclude Asians and established minimal quotas for other countries. In an unpublished sequel to *Mein Kampf*, Adolph Hitler praised the 1924 Immigration Act as a valiant effort to exclude the "foreign body" of "strangers to the blood" of the ruling race."²⁵ A few years later, during a debate over the Undesirable Aliens Act of 1929 (which created the offense of illegal reentry after deportation), Congressman Charles Edwards of Georgia made it clear that he believed Mexican immigrants were criminals, diseased, and "scum." As he said, "As a rule they are not the better or higher-type Mexicans, but generally of the less desirable type, and in many cases the criminal and diseased element. Something must be done to stop this. . . . This ignorant and undesirable element pouring into the United States from Mexico, not only do not understand American ideals, but many of them come into our country with hatred in their hearts for America and Americans. . . . Let's be just and fair to our own Republic and not poison her institutions with the riff-raff and scum of other countries who will not, and can not, from the very nature of things, become one of us because they have no conception of Americanism."²⁶ In the debates over this bill, Texas Congressman John Box similarly asserted that Mexicans were linked to criminality and disease. "They are badly infected with tuberculosis and

²⁴ As cited in Kelly Lytle Hernandez, "The Whites-Only Immigration Regime," *Western Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2025): 3, 8.

²⁵ As cited in Erika Lee, *America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), 143.

²⁶ Eric Fish, "Race, History and Immigration Crimes," *Iowa Law Review* 107 (2022), p. 1087, <https://ilr.law.uiowa.edu/sites/ilr.law.uiowa.edu/files/2022-11/Race%20History%20and%20Immigration%20Crimes.pdf>.

1 other diseases; there are many paupers among them; there are many criminals; they work for lower
 2 wages; they are as objectionable as immigrants when tried by the tests applied to other aliens.”²⁷
 3 Historian Kelly Lytle Hernandez summed up the results this way: “By the end of the 1920s, federal
 4 authorities had banned, capped, curbed, deterred, and criminalized almost all non-White immigration
 5 to the United States. The U.S. immigration system barred almost all Asian immigration, slashed
 6 arrivals from southern and eastern Europe, criminalized the informal border crossings most-
 7 commonly made by Mexicans, and even reversed Black immigration to the United States.”²⁸

8 23. In addition to laws to prevent entry of certain racialized groups, politicians and
 9 eugenics-minded public health officials linked immigrants to disease and mental illness. Howard
 10 Knox, the assistant surgeon at Ellis Island and a member of the Eugenics Research Association,
 11 warned in 1913 about allowing in “morons”, who, he asserted, “will immediately start a line of
 12 defectives whose progeny, like a brook, will go on forever, branching off her in an imbecile and
 13 there in an epileptic.”²⁹ In 1917, the Public Health Service in El Paso responded to a Typhus
 14 outbreak by stripping naked Mexican immigrants and forcing them into fumigation baths where they
 15 were showered with kerosene.³⁰

16 24. The 1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration Act in some ways took a step forward by
 17 eliminating the absolute prohibition on Asian immigration, but in many ways this act reinscribed
 18 many of the racist restrictions that had been part of the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act and earlier Asian
 19 exclusions. Racist ideology and language were again used to justify its provisions. The Bill’s co-
 20 sponsor Patrick McCarran, a Democrat from Nevada, explained that Congress needed to preserve the
 21 Western European composition of the United States. “The cold hard truth is that in the United States
 22 today there are hard-core, indigestible blocks who have not become integrated into the American
 23

24
 25 ²⁷ Benjamin Gonzalez O’Brien, “‘A Very Great Penalty’: Mexican Immigration, Race, and 8 U.S.C.
 § 1326,” *Maryland Journal of International Law*, Vol. 37, issue 1, article 5 (2022), p. 45,
<https://digitalcommons.law.umaryland.edu/mjil/vol37/iss1/5>.

26 ²⁸ Hernandez, “The Whites-Only Immigration Regime,” 8.

27 ²⁹ Young, *Forever Prisoners: How the United States Made the Largest Immigrant Detention System
 in the World*, 69.

28 ³⁰ Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern
 America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 59-61.

way of life.”³¹ Other congressional representatives pointed out the racism of the bill. Representative Powell criticized the Asian quota and also the limitation on people born in Trinidad, Jamaica, and other West Indian colonies, arguing that it “perpetuates certain objectionable racist features.” As Powell put it, “The 1924 law early achieved notoriety for the racist sentiments which engendered it and the Ku Klux Klan support which insured its passage. The McCarran-Walter bills perpetuate the obvious racist discrimination, and by so doing reaffirm a bias against Negro immigration which should have been repudiated long ago.”³²

25. The same kinds of racist justifications for immigration restrictions continued in the 1980’s and 1990’s, as the government detained and deported dramatically increasing numbers of immigrants. One exemplar comes from the Cuban Mariel refugees, who were stigmatized as mentally ill and violent criminals. President Jimmy Carter accused Fidel Castro of emptying his jails and mental hospitals and sending the worst of the worst to the United States. “We will not permit our country to be used as a dumping ground for criminals who represent a danger to our society, and we will begin exclusion proceedings against these people at once.”³³ In 1981, the Democrat Governor of Florida, Bob Graham, also expressed the idea that Mariel Cubans were criminals, stating, “Since the Federal Government was unwilling to enforce the immigration laws when illegal criminal aliens entered our country last summer, it must take responsibility for expelling those individuals now.”³⁴ In the Mariel case, while some Cubans had criminal backgrounds or histories of mental illness, the stigma attached to the entire group of 125,000, the vast majority of whom did not have such backgrounds.³⁵

26. These are just a few of many, many examples of the racist ideology and rhetoric that has been used to justify attacks on immigrant groups seen as non-white throughout U.S. history.

³¹ Erika Lee, *America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), 227.

³² Congressional Record 98 (1952): 4435, 4438.

³³ Jimmy Carter, “White House Statement on the Administration Policy Toward the Cuban Refugees,” May 14, 1980, The American Presidency Project, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/white-house-statement-the-administration-policy-toward-the-cuban-refugees>.

³⁴ As cited in Alexander M. Stephens, “Making Migrants ‘Criminal’: The Mariel Boatlift, Miami, and U.S. Immigration Policy, *Anthurium*, Vol. 17, issue 2 (2021), Article 4, p. 1.

³⁵ Young, *Forever Prisoners: How the United States Made the Largest Immigrant Detention System in the World*, 125.

1 There have been ebbs and flows in the law and policy governing deportations over the last 140 years,
 2 but the criminalization and dehumanization of unwanted immigrants is a constant thread that weaves
 3 its way through this history.

4 **V. Stigmatization of Venezuelan Immigrants**

5 27. The statements made recently by President Trump and Secretary Noem fit
 6 comfortably into this historical pattern. During the 2024 electoral campaign, then-candidate Donald
 7 Trump drew on and continued this racist history by painting a picture of Venezuelan migrants as
 8 dangerous criminals. In one interview, Trump said, “Look at what’s happening with some of these
 9 towns that are being talked about all over the world, but in a very horrible way, occupied by
 10 members of savage prison gangs from Venezuela.” In the same interview, Trump further
 11 asserted falsely that the Venezuelan government had sent the criminal migrants to the United
 12 States. As Trump put it, “In Venezuela, their crime rate went down 72%. You know why? -
 13 because they took the criminals out of Caracas, and they put them along your border. And they
 14 said, if you ever come back, we’re going to kill you.”³⁶ The news organization *Axios* analyzed
 15 Trump’s speeches, interviews, debates, and rallies between September 1, 2023 and October 2, 2024,
 16 finding that Trump made 70 references to Venezuelans as criminals.³⁷ The reelected president’s pick
 17 to lead the Department of Homeland Security, Kristi Noem, has repeatedly echoed the “Venezuela
 18 sending criminals” talking point.³⁸

19 ³⁶ “Trump Calls Venezuelan Migrants Criminals,” NPR, Oct. 21, 2024,
 20 <https://www.npr.org/transcripts/nx-s1-5068689>.

21 ³⁷ Russel Contreras, Delano Massey and Erin Davis, “Trump Keeps Calling Venezuelan and
 22 Congolese Migrants Criminals,” *Axios*, Oct. 5, 2024, [https://www.axios.com/2024/10/05/trump-](https://www.axios.com/2024/10/05/trump-migrants-venezuelan-congolese-rhetoric)
 23 [migrants-venezuelan-congolese-rhetoric](https://www.axios.com/2024/10/05/trump-migrants-venezuelan-congolese-rhetoric)

24 ³⁸ @KristiNoem, X (Feb. 26, 2024, 11:19 AM),
 25 <https://x.com/KristiNoem/status/1762195636491825295> (“Nations like Venezuela are emptying
 26 their prisons of dangerous criminals to send them to America. They are happy to let America’s open
 27 border be the solution to their problem.”); @KristiNoem, X (Feb. 27, 2024, 5:26 PM),
 28 <https://x.com/KristiNoem/status/1762650522920652828> (Venezuela didn’t send us their best. They
 emptied their prisons and sent criminals to America.”); @KristiNoem, Instagram, Mar. 6, 2024,
<https://www.instagram.com/kristinoem/reel/C4ML17eRBYr/> (“Countries like Venezuela are
 emptying their prisons, their mental institutions, and sending them to America. The White House is
 facilitating this invasion. They’re doing it on purpose.”); @KristiNoem, X (Mar. 14, 2024, 9:24
 AM), <https://x.com/KristiNoem/status/1768312288560247199> (“At least 300,000 illegal immigrants
 from Venezuela have been encountered at the border. Remember, Venezuela emptied their prisons

28. There is no evidence substantiating these assertions.³⁹ In fact, TPS applicants go through criminal background checks and are disqualified if they have one felony or two misdemeanors.⁴⁰

29. In the order terminating 2023 TPS status for Venezuelans and accompanying public statements, Secretary Noem has repeatedly alleged connections between them and the criminal gang Tren de Aragua (TdA). She has also repeatedly called Venezuelan immigrants “dirtbags.” For example, in her January 29, 2025 interview announcing the termination, Secretary Noem stated that ending TPS for Venezuelans is necessary in order to “evaluate all of these individuals that are in our country, including the Venezuelans that are here and members of TdA” She also stated that “the American people . . . want these dirtbags out of the country.”⁴¹ At her confirmation hearing, Secretary Noem said: “this extension [of TPS] of over 600,000 Venezuelans [] is alarming when we look at what we’ve seen in different states including Colorado with gangs doing damage and harming the individuals and the people that live there.”⁴² Further, her termination notice cited President Trump’s “policy imperatives” and pointed to his Executive Order 14157 designating the Tren de Aragua and other groups as Foreign Terrorist Organizations.⁴³ If there was any significant criminal involvement by any of 600,000 TPS-holding Venezuelans and the Tren de Aragua or any

and told them to come to America.”); @KristiNoem, Instagram (Dec. 9, 2024), <https://www.instagram.com/kristinoem/reel/DDVjJnURRqw/> (“[N]ations like Venezuela are using our open border to solve their own crime and mental health crises.”). But see Jorge Valencia, *Trump Says Venezuela Sends Criminals to the U.S. Here’s What to Know*, N.Y. TIMES, July 31, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/world/americas/trump-crime-venezuela-us.html> (describing the lack of any evidence for the assertion that Venezuela is emptying prisons and expelling prisoners to the United States, and considering it “highly unlikely”).

³⁹ Sofia Ahmed, No, the FBI Did Not say Venezuela Sent its Prison Population to the U.S., PolitiFact (Apr. 4, 2024), <https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2024/apr/04/instagram-posts/no-the-fbi-did-not-say-venezuela-sent-its-prison-p/>.

⁴⁰ 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(c)(2)(B)(i).

⁴¹ FOX AND FRIENDS, *DHS Sec. Noem Announces End to Temporary Protected Status for Venezuelan Migrants*, Jan. 29, 2025, <https://www.foxnews.com/video/6367942790112?msocid=30416397acd261bf24f1707bad686037>.

⁴² C-SPAN, *Homeland Security Secretary Nominee Gov. Kristi Noem Testifies at Confirmation Hearing*, Jan. 17, 2025, <https://www.c-span.org/program/senate-committee/homeland-security-secretary-nominee-gov-kristi-noem-testifies-at-confirmation-hearing/654484>.

⁴³ US Citizenship and Immigration Services, “Termination of the October 3, 2023 Designation of Venezuela Temporary Protected Status,” Federal Register, Feb. 5, 2025, <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/02/05/2025-02294/termination-of-the-october-3-2023-designation-of-venezuela-for-temporary-protected-status>.

1 other criminal organization, they would be ineligible for TPS status. Instead, what President Trump
 2 and Secretary Noem have done is stigmatize hundreds of thousands of Venezuelan migrants with the
 3 criminal behavior of a few individuals who are most likely not among the TPS-protected group.

4 30. In his Republican Convention speech in July 2024, Donald Trump invoked the
 5 rhetoric about the Mariel Cubans, falsely claiming that migration from Latin America, Africa, Asia
 6 and the Middle East, amounted to “the greatest invasion in history.” As Trump put it, “They’re
 7 coming from prisons. They’re coming from jails. They’re coming from mental institutions and
 8 insane asylums. . . . They’re emptying out their insane asylums. And terrorists at numbers that we’ve
 9 never seen before. Bad things are going to happen.”⁴⁴ Trump has also repeatedly referred to
 10 Venezuelan TPS holders as “animals,” and even defended the practice.⁴⁵ For example, President
 11 Trump said about some undocumented immigrants during a March 2024 rally, “I don’t know if you
 12 call them people. In some cases they’re not people, in my opinion, but I’m not allowed to say
 13 that[.]”⁴⁶ He has also repeatedly decried nonwhite immigrants for “poisoning the blood of our
 14 country.”⁴⁷

15 31. These statements are all fundamentally similar to those utilized by racist immigration
 16 restrictionists in prior eras. Here, the stigmatized group is 600,000 Venezuelan TPS holders.

17 **VI. Conclusion**

18 32. The political and economic crisis in Venezuela has only become more extreme in the
 19 last few years. Although GDP has rebounded and inflation has come down, GDP is still just a fourth
 20 of what it was in 2012 and inflation is currently around 60% a year. President Maduro has

21 ⁴⁴ “Read the Transcript of Donald J. Trump’s Convention Speech,” *New York Times*, July 19, 2024,
 22 <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/trump-rnc-speech-transcript.html>.

23 ⁴⁵ Miriam Valverde, *In Context: Donald Trump’s comments about immigrations, ‘animals’*,
 24 POLITIFACT (May 17, 2018), available at <https://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2018/may/17/context-donald-trumps-comments-about-immigrants-an/> (relying on MS-13 to claim that undocumented immigrants “aren’t people. These are animals.”).

25 ⁴⁶ Ariana Figueroa, *Trump Promises Mass Deportations of Undocumented People. How Would That Work?*, MISSOURI INDEPENDENT (Aug. 23, 2024), available at
 26 <https://missouriindependent.com/2024/08/23/trump-promises-mass-deportations-of-undocumented-people-how-would-that-work/>.

27 ⁴⁷ *Donald Trump on Illegal Immigrants ‘Poisoning the Blood of Our Country’*, C-SPAN (Dec. 16,
 28 2023), available at <https://www.c-span.org/clip/campaign-2024/donald-trump-on-illegal-immigrants-poisoning-the-blood-of-our-country/5098439>.

1 consolidated his rule, stealing the election in July 2024 and violently repressing opponents of the
2 regime. This is the situation that has led so many Venezuelans to flee the country.

3 33. As a group, Venezuelan immigrants are better educated and participate more in the
4 labor force than either other immigrants or native-born U.S. citizens. However, there has been a
5 demographic shift in the last 25 years between the older arrivals, who are wealthier and whiter, and
6 the new arrivals who are poorer and darker. That racial divide is at the heart of the stereotypes about
7 new Venezuelan migrants as criminals and gang members. While there is no evidence that
8 Venezuelan migrants are disproportionately criminal, and plenty of evidence that immigrants in
9 general are less likely to commit crimes than native-born U.S. citizens, the TPS holders are by
10 definition people with neither a felony conviction nor more than one misdemeanor, due to the TPS
11 statute's eligibility requirements. The irresponsible and unfounded comments by politicians and
12 other officials about Venezuelan immigrant criminality should not be used as an excuse to rescind
13 TPS protections for Venezuelans. Rather, they should be understood within the context of a long
14 history of racist dehumanizing tropes characterizing immigrants as diseased, mentally ill, and
15 criminals.

16 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the
17 foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.
18

19 Executed this 20th day of February, 2025, in PORTLAND, OREGON.
20

21
22 /s/ Elliott Young
23 Elliott Young
24
25
26
27
28

APPENDIX A

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Education

University of Texas, Austin	Ph.D.	Dept. of History, August 1997
University of Texas, Austin	M.A.	Dept. of History, May 1993
Princeton University	B.A.	Dept. of History, Latin American Studies Summa Cum Laude, June 1989

Academic Positions

Professor of History, Lewis & Clark College, May 2014- present
Associate Professor of History, Lewis & Clark College, September 2003 – 2014
Assistant Professor of History, Lewis & Clark College, August 1997- August 2003
Chair of History department, Lewis & Clark College, July 2009- July 2011, July 2012- June 2013
Director, Latin American Studies Minor, Lewis & Clark College, Aug. 1998- July 2007, Jan.-July 2009
Director, Ethnic Studies Minor, Lewis & Clark College, August 2006- July 2011, July 2015- July 2018,
Jan. 2020-July 2020

Co-Founder /Treasurer Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas, 2003- present

Co-founder of institute that brings together scholars from North and Latin America to discuss transnational history for a weeklong workshop in Tepoztlán, Mexico. I directed Institute for first five years, and now serve as its treasurer. Organized programs, raised funds to run institute, and recruited participants. The Institute hosts approximately eighty scholars from Latin and North America. Yearly budget of \$50,000.

Founder and Director, [Migration Scholar Collaborative](#) (MiSC), 2021- present.

Co-Director of [Stanford Migration & Asylum Lab](#), 2023- present.

Scholarly Publications

Books

Forever Prisoners: How the United States Made the World's Largest Detention System, Oxford University Press, January 2021.

Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas from the Coolie Era to WWII, University of North Carolina Press, 2014. 360 pages.

Honorable mention for the 2016 **Lucas Tomassini Award** for International Relations by the Latin American Studies Association.

Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas-Mexico Border, Duke University Press, 2004. 407 pages.

Winner of the 2005 **Kate Broocks Bates Award** for the best book on Texas history up to 1900, awarded by the Texas State Historical Association (\$3000 award)

Winner of the 2006 **Jim Parrish Award** by the Webb County Heritage Foundation for documentation and publication of local or regional history

Co-editor, *Continental Crossroads: Remapping US-Mexico Borderlands History*, Duke University Press, 2004. 344 pages.

Co-author of Introduction, "Making Transnational History: Nations, Regions and Borderlands."

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Review of Arnolando de León. *Racial Frontiers: Africans, Chinese, and Mexicans in Western America, 1848-1890*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. *The Americas* 61.2 (2004): 306-30.

Review of John Hart. *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico Since the Civil War*. Berkeley: Univ. of California, 2002. *Western Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (Fall 2003):383-84.

Review of *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940*, Eds., Gilbert Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001. *The Historian*, 65:6 (Winter 2003): 1422.

Review of Louis Gerard Mendoza. *Historia: The Literary making of Chicano and Chicana History*. College Station: Texas A&M, 2001. *Pacific Historical Review*, 71:4 (Nov. 2002), 678-680.

Review of Gunther Peck. *Reinventing Free Labor: Padres and Padrones in the North American West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2000. *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, summer 2001.

Review of David E. Lorey. *The US-Mexican Border in the Twentieth Century*. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1999. *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 81:2 (May 2001), 432-33.

Review of *Culture y Cultura: Consequences of the US-Mexican War, 1846-1848*. Los Angeles: Autry Museum of Western Heritage, 1998. *Pacific Historical Review*, August 2000.

Review of Richard W. Slatta. *Comparing Cowboys and Frontiers*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1997. *Western Historical Quarterly*, summer 1998.

Review of Ward S. Albro. *To Die on Your Feet: The Life, Times and Writings of Práxedes G. Guerrero*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University, 1996. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, fall 1997.

Review of Silvia Spitta. *Between Two Waters: Narratives of Transculturation in Latin America*. Houston: Rice University, 1995. *H-Latam*, October, 1996.

Review of *U.S.-Mexico Borderlands: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Ed. by Oscar J. Martínez. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1996. *H-Latam*, March 1996.

Opinion Columns in Newspapers and Magazines

["What the Mexican President Could Learn from the 19th c. Mexican Journalist He Idolizes,"](#) *Time*, April 9, 2024.

["Locking up the mentally ill has a long history,"](#) *Washington Post*, Jan. 3, 2023.

["Like the 19th-century U.S., Putin seized separatist claims to expand his empire,"](#) *Washington Post*, Mar. 4, 2022.

Co-written with Jason Renaud, ["20 years after Mejía Poot killing, we still lack enough alternatives to police,"](#) *Oregonian*, Mar., 31, 2021.

["Immigrant Families are the Second Casualty of War,"](#) *History News Network*, Feb. 14, 2021.

["Immigration Cruelty Didn't Start with Trump. Will it End Under Biden?"](#) *Washington Post*, Dec. 10, 2020.

["Trump just adding fuel to fire set by Portland's Democratic leaders,"](#) *Houston Chronicle*, July 22, 2020.

["SCOTUS's Thuraissigiam Decision is a Threat to all Undocumented Immigrants,"](#) *History News Network*, July 19, 2020.

Co-written with Lakayana Drury and Marcia Perez, ["Defund the Police and Refund the Community,"](#) *Oregonian*, June 10, 2020.

["Police Reform Must Go Beyond Substantial Compliance,"](#) *Oregonian*, Mar. 8, 2020.

["Immigration Restriction by Remote Control,"](#) *History News Network*, Mar. 31, 2019.

Co-written with Sarah Iannarone, ["Put Hardesty in Charge of the Police Bureau,"](#) *Portland Tribune*, Mar. 12, 2019,

["Numerous Reports Confirm Stark Racial Disparities in Portland Criminal Justice System,"](#) *Injustice Today*, Nov. 15, 2017.

["Four Things Mayor Ted Wheeler Can Do Today to Make Portland Less Racist,"](#) *HuffPost*, June 2, 2017.

["Sanctuary in Name Only,"](#) *Oregon Humanities*, April 2017.

["Safe Space for Hate Group at Lewis & Clark College,"](#) *HuffPost*, Apr. 14, 2017.

["Felons and Families,"](#) *UNC Press Blog*, Immigration series, April 3, 2017.

["Sanctuary for All in Portland,"](#) *HuffPost*, Mar. 24, 2017.

["The Hard Truths about Obama's Deportation Policies,"](#) *Huffington Post*, Mar. 1, 2017,

["Sanctuary in the Trump Era,"](#) *NACLA*, Feb. 3, 2017,

["Trump's Immigration Orders Signal End of Civil Rights Era,"](#) *Huffington Post*, Jan. 31, 2017.

["On Sanctuary: What is in a Name?"](#) *Huffington Post*, Dec. 2, 2016.

["Colleges and Universities Should Become Sanctuaries for the Undocumented,"](#) *Huffington Post*, Nov. 13, 2016.

["Unrooted Epiphytes,"](#) *Oregon Humanities*, Spring 2016.

["Threat to Black Students in Portland is Real,"](#) Nov. 23, 2015, *Huffington Post*.

["Do Black Students' Lives Matter in Portland?"](#) *Huffington Post*, Nov. 19, 2015.

["We Can Do More for Syrian Refugees,"](#) *Huffington Post*, Sept. 13, 2015.

["The Problem with the Immigration Problem,"](#) *Oregon Humanities*, Spring 2015.

["The Problem with the Immigration Problem,"](#) *Utne Reader*, Fall 2015.

["President Obama got it half right on immigration,"](#) *Portland Tribune*, Dec. 11, 2014.

["The Campaign to Keep Millions of Immigrants in Detention Doesn't Even Stand up to Sixteenth Century Standards of Natural Rights,"](#) *History News Network*, Nov. 18, 2014.

["The US Should Make Legal Immigration Easier,"](#) *Oregonian*, November 11, 2014.

["Mandatory ICE Detainers are Unconstitutional,"](#) *Oregonian*, May 4, 2014.

Co-written with Micol Seigel, ["Privatization is a Road to Nowhere,"](#) *Quartz*, August 9, 2013.

["Keeping the Dream Alive for Immigrants,"](#) *Oregonian*, Oct. 1, 2010.

"Newcomers help economy so let's treat them humanely," *Oregonian*, Mar. 1, 2008.

"The Federal War on Immigrants is a War on All Workers, published by the *History News Network*, 29 June 2007, Pub. as "Immigration Raids Hurt ALL Workers, *Connecticut Post*, 7/1/07; "The Ground War Against Workers' Rights," *Oregonian*, 7/2/07; "US War on Immigrants is War on All Workers," [CAN] Owen Sound Sun Times, 7/10/07.

"A Decisive Day for Democracy in Venezuela and the US," published by *History News Network*, August 8, 2004, and picked up by newspapers in Rhode Island and Oregon.

Professional Conferences, Invited Lectures and Keynotes

2024 "Analyzing Police Reforms in Portland," Policing Justice Symposium, Feb. 28, 2024

"The Origins and Future of Asylum: Applying the Liberal Arts in the Real World," Migration Symposium, Pacific University, March 22, 2024.

“Forever Prisoners: How the United Made the World’s Largest Immigrant Detention System,” Pomona College, March 28, 2024.

“The Border Crisis is Political Theater for Both Parties,” Oregon Consular Corps, April 12, 2024.

“Mariel Cuban Refugees and the Longest Prison Uprising in United States History,” Carcerality and Resistance conference, University of Edinburgh, May 22-24, 2024.

Keynote address “Resistance to Detention: Mariel Cuban Refugees’ Prison Uprisings,” at Camps, Carceral Imaginaries and Critical Interventions Conference, Graz, Austria, May 30-June 2, 2024.

Chair, “Camouflaging Carcerality and Climate Change in the U.S.–Mexico and Sunbelt Borderlands,” Latin American Studies Association, June 13, 2024, Bogota, Colombia.

Presenter at “Expert Witness Training,” Center for Gender and Race Studies (CGRS), University of California Law School, Aug. 20, 2024.

“History of Immigration Policy,” League of Women Voters, Portland, Oct. 9, 2024.

2023 Panelist for virtual symposium, “Whose America? A Reevaluation of U.S Immigration Policy since 1980,” Cornell University, Sept. 1, 2023.

“Mariel ‘Excludables’: More than the Worst Thing They Ever Did,” Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas, July 2023, Tepoztlán, Mexico.

“The Mariel Cuban Refugees and the Origins of Crimmigration,” Organization of American Historians, Mar. 30, 2023, Los Angeles.

2022 “History of Racism in Immigration Restrictions and Illegal Entry Charge,” AILA Oregon, keynote address, Sept. 21, 2022, Portland, Oregon.

“History of Racism in Immigration Restrictions and Illegal Entry Charge,” XVI Reunión Internacional de Historiadores de México, Nov. 1, 2022, Austin, Texas.

“Wong Foon Chuck: su mundo transfronterizo y antichinismo en la revolución Mexicana,” Presentación magistral for the Cátedra Celsa Garza Guajardo, May 13, 2022, Monterrey, Mexico.

2021 “Catarino Garza y su revolución fronteriza,” keynote lecture for Letras e ideas sobre el Porfiriato y la Revolución coloquio 2021, Nov. 18, 2021, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, Mexico.

“Wong Foon Chuck: su mundo transfronterizo y antichinismo en la revolución Mexicana,” presentation for Letras e ideas sobre el Porfiriato y la Revolución coloquio 2021, Nov. 17, 2021, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, Mexico.

“History of Racism in Immigration Restrictions and Illegal Entry Charge,” Continuing Legal Education lecture, Arizona, Oct. 1, 2021.

“Mariel Cuban Refugees and the Longest Prison Takeover in the United States,” Organization of American Historians, April 15-17, 2021.

“Immigrant Detention—History, Rights and What’s Next?” Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, Jan. 25, 2021.

“How the United States Made the World’s Largest Immigrant Detention System,” Seattle Town Hall, 20 Jan. 2021.

2019 “Radical Histories of Sanctuary,” Roundtable, American Studies Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, 9 Nov. 2019.

“The Excludables: Mariel Cuban Refugees and the Longest Prison Takeover in the United States,” Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas, Tepoztlán, Mexico, 29 July 2019.

“The Excludables: Mariel Cuban Refugees and the Longest Prison Takeover in the United States,” Latin American, Latina/o and Iberian Studies (LALISA) conference, 12 Apr. 2019.

“Rethinking 1924-1965 in US Immigration History for Today’s World,” Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, April 5, 2019.

“Transborder Migrants and their Multiple National Loyalties,” Roundtable Presidential Panel, “Loyalties and Migration in World/Atlantic History,” American Historical Association, Chicago, 4 Jan. 2019.

2018 “Excluding the Others: Resistance and Collaboration between Mexico and the United States” XV Reunión Internacional de Historiadores de México, Guadalajara, Mexico, Oct. 17-20, 2018.

2017 (I) Invited speaker, UNESCO, First International Forum on Migration and Cultural Rights, May 3-5, 2017, Ciudad Juárez, Mexico.

“Policing Migrants Across the Americas: From WWII Enemy Alien Concentration Camps to Trump’s Border Wall,” Latin American Studies Association Congress, Lima, Peru, Apr. 27-29, 2017.

“History as Empire Colonizing the Other Disciplines,” Asian American Studies Association, Portland, April 13, 2017.

2016 “Extraños en la Nación: Migraciones chinas en las Americas en el siglo XIX y XX,” invited lecture at the UNAM, Mexico City, 6 October 2016.

Presentation of “Beyond Borders: Remote Control and the New Global Order,” at Nación y Alteridad seminar, Mexico City.

“50 years of Mexican Immigration to the United States, from Hart-Cellar to the Present,” Roundtable at Latin American Studies Association Congress, New York City, 28 May 2016.

“Transnational Deportation Regimes: Collaborations and Conflict between the United States, Mexico and Cuba in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” Webb Lectures Series, University of Texas, Arlington, invited lecture, 9 Mar 2016.

“Contracting Freedom: Chinese in Cuba, Peru and Mexico in an Era of Emancipation,” Asia and Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh, invited lecture, 19 Feb. 2016.

“Liberalism, Human Rights and the Politics of Exclusion,” Keynote address for Latin American Studies Graduate Student Conference, Tulane University, 29 Jan. 2016.

“McNeil Island Prison as a Site of Migrant Incarceration,” American Historical Association, 9 Jan. 2016.

“Borderlands State of Field,” Council on Latin American History, 8 Jan. 2016.

2015

“Columbus Was Right: Asia is in the Americas After All,” Immigrant America: New Immigration Histories from 1965 to 2015, University of Minnesota, 23 Oct. 2015.

Borderlands Roundtable, American Studies Association, Toronto, 8 Oct. 2015.

“Detention and Deportation: Aliens in the Carceral Machine,” Pacific Solutions? Contexts, consequences, and legacies of Asian migration and deportation in the USA and Australia, University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia, invited lecture, 13 Aug. 2015.

“Beyond Borders: Remote Control and the New Global Order,” Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas, Tepoztlán, Mexico, 28 July 2015.

“No Yellow in Cuban Color: Chinese in the Cuban Imaginary,” Latin American Studies Association Congress, San Juan, Puerto Rico, 30 May 2015.

“Unrooted Epiphytes: Conceptualizing Aliens in an era of Mass Incarceration and Global Policing,” Managing Borders: An Interdisciplinary Conference on American Immigration Marking the 50th Anniversary of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, Columbia University, Society of Fellows, April 3-4, 2015. Invited participant.

2014

“Alien Nation: Chinese Crossings in the US-Mexico Borderlands and Beyond,” American Historical Association, Washington DC, 2 Jan. 2014.

“Borderlands: State of the Field,” American Historical Association, Washington DC, 4 Jan. 2014,

“Contracting Freedom: Coolies in Cuba and Peru in the Age of Freedom,” University of Oregon, Transnational Americas Speakers Series, 29 Jan. 2014.

“Chinese Migratory Networks in the Americas,” Latin American Studies Association Congress, Chicago, 23 May 2014.

Chair, “Roundtable: Asians in the Americas: Migratory Circuits, Sexuality, and Gender” American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch, Portland, OR, 14 August 2014.

“Roundtable: New Directions on Studies of Asians in the Americas,” Asians in the Americas Conference, Rutgers University, October 3, 2014.

“Saving the Chinese Coolies: Moral Panics and Human Smuggling,” Global Moral Panics conference, Indiana, University, 10 October 2014.

Alien Nation book talk, invited lecture, California State Los Angeles, 5 November 2014.

“The Nation and the Globe: Transnational Policing Regimes in North America,” American Studies Association conference, Los Angeles, 6 November 2014.

2013

“Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas,” University of Puget Sound, Dolliver Seminar on "Borders and the Making of Trans-American Studies: Exploring Transnational and Interdisciplinary Cultural Studies of the Americas," 15 May 2013.

“National Sovereignty Beyond the Nation’s Borders: Chinese Exclusion in Greater North America,” Canadian Historians Association, June 3-5, 2013, Victoria, BC.

“The Rights of Man: Mexican Migration Policy for Chinese from the Porfiriato through the 1930s,” Latin American Studies Association International Congress, Washington DC, May 29-June 1.

“Alien Nation: Chinese Migration on the US-Mexico Border,” invited lecture, Northwestern University, Chicago, 25 Apr. 2013.

Invited Commentator, Newberry Library Seminar in Borderlands and Latino History, Chicago, 27 Apr. 2013.

“Catarino Garza’s Writings,” The Mexican American Archival Enterprise at the Benson Latin American Collection: An Historical Appraisal, invited panelist, April 18-19, 2013, University of Texas, Austin.

2012

“Global Borders: Enforcing Asian Exclusion Beyond the Boundary Line,” Borderlands, Migration and Transnational in North America workshop, invited presenter, York University, Toronto, 19-20 Oct. 2012.

“Aliens in the Age of Freedom: Chinese Migration in the Americas, 1840s-1940s,” American Historical Association- Pacific Coast Branch, San Diego, 10 Aug. 2012.

“Aliens in the Age of Freedom: Chinese Migration in the Americas, 1840s-1940s,” Tepoztlán Institute, Tepoztlán, Mexico, 3 Aug. 2012.

“Transborder Sovereignties: Chinese, French and British Defense of Chinese ‘Coolies’ in Cuba,” Latin American Studies Association, San Francisco, 26 May 2012.

“Transborder Sovereignty: Chinese “Coolie” Migration to the Americas and the Limits of the Nation-State,” WCILACS, University of British Columbia, Vancouver BC, 18 May 2012.

“Deportations in an Age of Freedom,” Immigration Forum, Portland, OR, 13 Apr. 2012.

“Narcowars and the Politics of Ungovernability,” World Affairs Council: Great Decisions Series, Portland, OR, 27 Jan. 2012

2011 “Transborder Sovereignties Beneath the Flag: The Coolie Trade to the Americas,” Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas, 30 July 2011.

2010 Workshop on New Approaches to Circum-Caribbean History, Latin American Studies Association International Congress, Toronto, Oct. 6-10, 2010.

“Borderless: Globalization, Migration and Changing Communities,” Oregon Humanities Conversation Project, 2010-2012

Nancy R. Chandler Visiting Scholar Program, Bend, Oregon, 19 Jan. 2010.

Wilsonville Public Library, 20 Jan. 2010.

Washington County Museum, 19 May 2010.

Milton-Freewater Public Library, 10 Aug. 2010.

Pendleton Public Library, 11 Aug. 2010.

Canby Public Library, 25 Jan. 2011

Midland Branch Library, 31 Jan. 2011

AAUW Beaverton, 3 Feb. 2011

Wilamette University Continuing Education, 15 Feb. 2011

Midland Library, 2 Mar. 2011

City Club of Central Oregon, Bend, 11 May 2011

Springfield Public Library, 12 July 2011

Newport Public Library, 15 Sept. 2011

Tigard Public Library, 27 Oct. 2011

Lower Columbia Diversity Council, Astoria, OR, 8 Mar. 2012

Troutdale Public Library, 14 Mar. 2012

Hood River Public Library, 18 Mar. 2012

Clackamas County Diversity Council, 9 May 2012

Oregon Historical Society, 13 Sept. 2012

Hillsboro Public Library, 27 Sept. 2012

2009 Roundtable Panel on Activism and Scholarship in Mexican History, Conference of Latin American History, New York City, Jan. 4, 2009.

Roundtable Panel, “Freedom and Bondage in the Circum-Caribbean: Slaves, Free Blacks

and Chinese ‘Coolies,’” Latin American Studies International Congress, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, June 11-14, 2009.

“The Chinese Diaspora in the Americas The First ‘Illegal Aliens,’” Oregon Humanities Chautauqua Lecture:

Willamette University Continuing Education, 29 Jan. 2009.
 Osher Lifelong Learning, University of Oregon, Bend, 26 Feb. 2009.
 Charbonneau Women’s Association, 9 Mar. 2009.
 Vernonia Public Library, 12 Mar. 2009.
 Benton County Historical Society, 14 July 2009.
 Friends of Historic Champoeg, 26 Sept. 2009.
 Gold Beach Public Library, 20 Nov. 2009.

Rose Villa Retirement Community, “Cuba After Castro,” 16 Mar. 2009.

2008 The Chinese Diaspora in the Americas The First “Illegal Aliens,” Oregon Humanities Chautauqua Lecture:

William Kniep Lecture at Pacific University, 29 Sept. 2008.
 Tualitin Historical Society, 6 Aug. 2008.
 Lincoln County Museum, 8 Nov. 2008.
 OASIS, Portland, Oregon. 12 Nov. 2008.

"Transamérica and the Japanese Mojados at the Canadian-Mexican-US Borders," Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas, July 28, 2008, Tepoztlán, Mexico.

2007 “Technologies of Control and Evasion at the Edge of the Nation: Chinese Border Crossings in Greater North America (Cuba, Mexico, US and Canada),” Latin Americans Studies Association International Congress, Sept. 5-8, 2007, Montreal, Canada.

Discussant, “Between and Beyond Nations: The Making of Popular Political Cultures in Latin America” Latin Americans Studies Association International Congress, Sept. 5-8, 2007, Montreal, Canada.

“Chinese Diaspora in Greater North America,” Orientalisms in the Americas working group, Hemispheric Institute of Performance and Politics, 6th Encuentro, Corpopolíticas: Body Politics in the Americas, Formations of Race, Class and Gender, Buenos Aires, June 8-17, 2007.

Borderlands State of the Field panel, Organization of American Historians Annual Conference, Mar. 29-31, Minneapolis.

2006 Chair, “Hispanicism, Americanism and PanAmericanism in the Age of US Empire,” Latin Americans Studies Association International Congress, Mar. 16-18, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Pettit Memorial Lecture at Colorado College, “Transamérica: Cross-Dressers and Gunslingers in the Borderlands,” March 6.

2005

Discussant and Organizer of “Transnational and National Identities along Borders, American Historical Association- Pacific Coast Branch, Aug. 4-7, Corvallis, OR.

“The 19th Century Chinese Diaspora in Greater North America: Transnational Migrant Identities and Nation-State Formation in Cuba, Mexico and the US West,” invited lecturer at Center for Race and Ethnicity,” University of California, San Diego, May 11.

“The Genealogy if Transnational History,” Globalization, Transnationalism and Cultural Studies Conference, hosted by Portland Center for Cultural Studies, May 7, Portland, Oregon.

“Towards a Transnational Epic of Greater America,” Organization of American History, Mar. 31- Apr. 3, San Francisco.

“Catarino Garza’s Revolution on the Texas Mexico Border,” University of Texas-PanAmerican, March 18, Edinburg, Texas.

“Catarino Garza’s Revolution on the Texas Mexico Border,” Museum of South Texas History, March 19, Edinburg, Texas.

2004

“Angustia y Esperanza in Cuba’s Special Period: Abilio Estévez’s ‘El Enano en la Botella’ and Fernando Pérez’s ‘Suite Habana’, Cuba Today Conference, Bildner Center, CUNY, Oct. 4-6, New York City.

“Chinese Migrations in the Greater Caribbean: Pan Chino-Latino Identity?” Latin American Studies Association International Congress, Oct. 6-9, Las Vegas.

2003

“Catarino Garza and His Revolution,” South Texas Heritage Symposium, invited lecture, May 17, Alice, Texas.

“Indigestion in the Belly of the Beast: José Martí and Catarino Garza’s Pan-Latin American Identity in the Late Nineteenth-Century Borderlands” Latin American Studies Association International Congress, Mar. 27-29, Dallas, Texas.

“Indigestion in the Belly of the Beast: José Martí and Catarino Garza’s Pan-Latin American Identity in the Late Nineteenth-Century Borderlands” International Conference for the Equilibrium of the World, Jan. 27-29, Havana, Cuba.

2002

Co-organizer, “Continental Crossroads: Remapping US-Mexico Borderlands History,” Symposium at the Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 21 Sept., Dallas, Texas.

2001

“Curanderos, Quacks and the Texas Medical Establishment: Preserving Mexican Culture in the Face of Domination, 1880-1920,” Borderlands in Transition, Texas A & M International University and Texas State Historical Society, 10 Nov. 2001, Laredo, Texas.

“Chino Cubanos: A Story of Blood Sweat and Historical Erasure,” Interdisciplinary Lecture Series, Yale Council on Latin American and Iberian Studies, Nov 1, 2001, New Haven, CT

“Between the Spanish Empire and the Cuban Nation: Regulation and Resistance in the Nineteenth Century Chinese “Coolie,” Trade, Latin American Studies Association, 7 September 2001, Washington DC.

“Remembering Conquest: The Difficult Dialogue about Ramón Gutiérrez’s *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away*,” American Historical Association- Pacific Coast Branch, 10 August 2001, Vancouver BC.

Roundtable Discussant on Gunther Peck’s *Reinventing Free Labor: Padres and Padrones in the North American West*, American Historical Association- Pacific Coast Branch, 11 August 2001, Vancouver BC

“Coolies and Contamination in Nineteenth Century Cuba,” Southeastern Conference on Latin American Studies, 1 March 2001, Veracruz, Mexico

1999 “Nuestra América: Beyond the National Boundaries of (Latin) American History,” International symposium on “Imágenes a través del espejo: La nueva historiografía norteamericana sobre América Latina,” Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, Peru.

“Circuits of Empire and Anti-Empire: Traveling Into and Out of the Borderlands in the Late Nineteenth Century,” X Conference of Mexican and North American Historians, Dallas-Fort Worth.

“Neither Red, nor White, nor Black, But Mexican: Coloring the Race/Nation Map in the US West,” American Historical Association-Pacific Coast Branch, Maui, Hawaii.

1998 Chair and Participant, “Empire on the Texas-Mexico Border: Global Networks of Imperial Knowledge from the Lower Rio Grande to the Congo,” Latin American Studies Association XXI International Congress, Chicago, Illinois.

“Empire on the Texas-Mexico Border: Global Networks of Imperial Knowledge from the Lower Rio Grande to the Congo,” American Historical Association- Pacific Coast Branch, 91st Annual Meeting, San Diego, California.

“A New Spectre Haunting the World: The Zapatista Struggle Against Neoliberalism and For Humanity,” Rocky Mountain Council on Latin American Studies, Missoula, Montana.

“Blasting History: Picking Up the Pieces in a Crazy World,” Last Lecture Series, Lewis & Clark College.

1997 “Beyond Bi-Polar Racial Theory: Race on the Late Nineteenth Century Texas-Mexico Border,” Western Historical Association Conference, 37th Annual Conference.

Discussant, Border Disorder II: A Theoretical Discussion of Identity and Power in Latin America, Latin American Studies Association XX International Congress, Guadalajara, Mexico.

- 1996 "Nations on the Border of a Nervous Breakdown: Coping with Mexican Revolutionaries on the Texas Border in the 1890s," Southern Historical Association, 62nd Annual Meeting, Little Rock, Arkansas.
- "Twilight on the Border: Making/Interpreting Texas Mexican Identity at the End of the Nineteenth Century," Rocky Mountain Council of Latin American Studies, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- "La Frontera Norte: La Formación de la Identidad en la Revolución de Catarino Garza," Seminario de Estudios Históricos: Monterrey 400, Archivo General del Estado de Nuevo León.
- 1995 Chair and Participant, "New Mestiza Consciousness' in the Late Nineteenth Century: Identity Formation on the Texas-Mexico Border," Latin American Studies Association, XIX International Congress, Washington DC.
- 1994 "Before the Revolution: Catarino Garza as Activist/Historian," Third Conference Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage, Legacies of a Literature: Impact and Implications of the U.S. Hispanic Contribution, University of Houston.
- Chair and Participant, "Identity as a Means of Struggle and Social Control: Race, Class, Gender, and Nation in Catarino Garza's Revolution," Latin American Studies Association, XVIII International Congress, Atlanta, Georgia.
- 1993 "La lógica de los hechos: Reading Catarino Garza's Auto-biography as History," Seventh Biennial University of Texas, Austin Historical Symposium.
- "Tall Tales of a Tejano Revolutionary: Race and Class in the Construction of Catarino Garza," Institute for Latin American Studies Student Association Conference.
- 1992 "Deconstructing *La Raza*: Culture and Ideology of the *Gente Culta* of Laredo, 1904- 1911," Latin American Studies Association, XVII International Congress, Los Angeles.

Academic Service

Peer reviewer for: *American Historical Review*, *Journal of American History*, *Pacific Historical Review*, *Western Historical Review*, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, *Stanford Law Review* and *Latin American Research Review*.

Peer reviewer for: *Yale University Press*, *Oxford University Press*, *Duke University Press*, *University of North Carolina Press*, *Routledge*, and *University of Arizona Press*.

2023- Present Co-Chair of Budget Advisory Committee.

2020- Present Member of International Studies Committee of Organization of American Historians, chair 2022-23

2018-19 Co-chair of Bryce Wood Latin American Studies Book Award, Latin American Studies Association.

2018-2020 Faculty Representative to Board of Trustees, Lewis & Clark College.

2016-2020 Faculty Council at Lewis & Clark College.

2015 President of Borderlands Section of Council on Latin American History (CLAH)

2014 Secretary of Borderlands Section of Council on Latin American History (CLAH)

2011 Program Committee for American Studies Association, 2011 conference.

2008 Diversity Advisory Committee, Lewis & Clark College, 2008- present.

2007 Committee for Counsel, Earlham College's Border Studies Program, 2007- present.

Appointed to Presidential Committee on Diversity and Social Justice, Lewis & Clark College.

Committee on Promotion and Tenure (2007-2009), Lewis & Clark College, chair, 2008-2009.

Faculty Representative to Board of Trustees, Lewis & Clark College, 2007-2009.

2006 Budget Advisory Committee (2006-2008), Lewis & Clark College, chair, 2007-2008.

2004-05 Program Committee for American Historical Association- Pacific Coast Branch, Annual Meeting 2005, Corvallis, Oregon.

2002 Curriculum Committee (2002-2004), Lewis & Clark College, chair, 2003-2004.

2000 Program Committee for American Historical Association-Pacific Coast Branch, Annual Meeting 2001, Vancouver, British Columbia.

1997 Historical Consultant, "Border on the Edge," documentary video about Laredo's Washington's Birthday Celebration.

1993 Co-organizer, Seventh Biennial University of Texas Historical Symposium, Austin, Texas.

Fellowships, Awards and Honors

2023 Vital Projects grant for Stanford's Migration and Asylum Lab, \$25,000

2021 Lorey Lokey Faculty Excellence Award, Lewis & Clark College.

Vital Projects grant for Migration Scholar Collaborative, \$25,000

2020 James Madison Award by Society for the History of the Federal Government for "Caging Immigrants at McNeil Island Federal Prison, 1880-1940," *Pacific Historical Review* article.

Louis Knott Koontz Memorial Award, for "Caging Immigrants at McNeil Island Federal Prison, 1880-1940," American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch, *Pacific Historical Review* article.

- 2019 Franklin Research Fellowship by American Philosophical Society, \$6,000.
- Organization of American Historians and Japan Association for American Studies Society, Japan Residency at Seijo University, May 26- June 8, 2019.
- 2017 Organization of American Historians Japan Residency at Osaka University. Declined due to time-conflict.
- 2016 Honorable Mention for 2016 **Lucas Tomassini Award** for International Relations by Latin American Studies Association.
- 2011 Mellon Senior Sabbatical Extension Fellowship, 2011-12, Lewis & Clark College.
- Mellon Seminar on the Caribbean Diaspora, 2011-12, developed grant proposal for a year-long seminar with a group of Lewis & Clark Faculty.
- 2009-10 Conversations Project for "Borderless: Migration, Globalization and Changing Communities," 2010-12, Oregon Humanities.
- 2008 Chautauqua lectureship for "The Chinese Diaspora in the Americas: The First 'Illegal Aliens,'" 2008-09, Oregon Council for the Humanities.
- 2006 **Jim Parrish Award** for documentation and publication of local or regional history, awarded by the Webb County Heritage Foundation.
- 2005 **Kate Broocks Bates Award** for the best book on Texas history up to 1900, awarded by the Texas State Historical Association (\$3000 award).
- 2005-07 Two-year **Millicent McIntosh Fellowship from the Woodrow Wilson Foundation**. \$20,000 grant for my "Chinese Diaspora in Greater North America" project.
- 2002 **National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institute Fellowship**, "The Americas of José Martí," Tampa, Florida and Havana, Cuba.
- Student-Faculty Collaborative Research Grant, Lewis & Clark College
Faculty Research Fellowship, Lewis & Clark College
- 1998 **W. Turrentine Jackson Award** for most distinguished dissertation on twentieth century history of the US West, American Historical Association- Pacific Coast Branch.
- Bert M. Fireman Prize** for best student essay in the *Western Historical Quarterly*, Western History Association.
- Pamplin Society Teacher of the Year Award**, nominated as one of six candidates, Lewis & Clark College.

- 1996-97 **Liberal Arts Dissertation Fellowship**, University of Texas, Austin.
- 1995-96 **Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Research Fellowship**, Mexico.
- Patterson-Banister Fellowship in U.S. History**, University of Texas, Austin (declined in favor of Fulbright-Hays grant).
- 1995 **García-Robles Fulbright Dissertation Research Fellowship**, Mexico.
- Faculty Sponsored Research Fellowship**, Institute for Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin, (declined in favor of Fulbright-Hays grant).
- 1992-94 **Clara Driscoll Fellowship and Texas Sesquicentennial Fellowship**
Daughters of the Republic of Texas (renewed for second year).
- 1993 **Recovering the U.S.-Hispanic Literary Heritage Grant** for my project “Catarino Garza: A Late Nineteenth Century Texas Mexican Intellectual.
Southwest Council of Latin American Studies scholarship award, 1993.
- 1992 **Foreign Language Area Studies Fellowship** (Portuguese), Institute for Latin American Studies at the University of Texas, Austin.

Teaching Experience

1997- present Professor, Department of History, Lewis & Clark College

Transnational History of the Americas (seminar)
 Slavery, Bondage and Prisons in the United States (Ethnic Studies Colloquium)
 Immigration and Asylum Law
 Latin American Cultural Studies (taught bilingually)
 Colonial Latin American History (survey)
 Modern Latin American History (survey)
 Modern Cuba (upper division)
 Modern Mexico (upper division)
 Race and Nation in Latin America (upper division)
 US-Mexico Borderlands (seminar and 200-level)
 Gender and Sexuality in Latin America (seminar)
 Senior Research Seminar: American Empire
 Inventing America, Parts I and II (Core Humanities Course)
 Race, Ethnicity and Transnational Identity in US America (Core Humanities Course)
 Human Migration (Core Humanities Course)

1990-91 Teacher, ninth grade, Social Studies and English, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, New York.

Immigration Legal Work

“Historians’ Comment: DHS Notice of Proposed Rulemaking Expanding Definition of Public Charge”, Torrie Hester, Hidetaka Hirota, Mary E. Mendoza, Deirdre Moloney, Mae Ngai, Lucy Salyer, Elliott Young, 15 Oct. 2018.

History Professors Amicus Brief in Motion for Temporary Restraining Order against Trump Executive Order, 13 March 2017

Developed website, [Expert Immigration Witness](#), to help immigration lawyers find academic expert witnesses for asylum cases.

Provided expert witness declarations in more than 600 asylum cases related to Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, Venezuela, and Cuba.

Art and Politics

Appointed by Mayor Ted Wheeler to Board of Portland Committee on Community-Engaged Policing (PCCEP), Sept. 2019. Alternate Co-Chair (November 2019- July 2020), Co-Chair (July 2020- August 2021).

Faculty leader for alternative Spring Break Art Exchange to Havana, Cuba, Spring 2017.

Organized and Co-Curated *No Entiendo Nada, I Don’t Understand Anything* exhibit at Estudio 50 Gallery in Havana, Cuba, 1 April 2017.

Organized and Co-Curated *Intersecciones: Havana-Portland* exhibit at Hoffman Gallery, with six Cuban artists, Jan. 28-March 11, 2016.

Organized and co-curated *Wifi Gratis* exhibit at Fresa y Chocolate Gallery, Havana, Cuba, 19 May 2015

“RaWaR Live!” video installation, Dumba Art Collective, Dumbo, Brooklyn, July 2005; Backspace gallery, Portland, Oregon, April 2005.

Participant in “Venezuela No Está Sola” conference, Caracas, Venezuela, July 2004.

Regular commentator on Buenos Aires, Argentina radio program, “Maté Amargo,” 2004 - 2007.

Workers’ Rights Board Member, Jobs with Justice, Portland, OR, 2002-present.

Professional Associations

American Studies Association
 American Historical Association
 Organization of American History
 Western History Association
 Latin American Studies Association

References

Mae Ngai, Lung Family Professor of Asian American Studies and Professor of History Columbia University, mn53@columbia.edu

Erika Lee, Distinguished McKnight University Professor, University of Minnesota, erikalee@umn.edu

Ramón Gutiérrez, Preston & Sterling Morton Distinguished Service Professor, University of Chicago, rgutierrez@uchicago.edu

Kelly Lytle-Hernández, Professor of History, UCLA, hernandez@history.ucla.edu